AN ANSWER

To a Seditious Pamphlet,

INTITULED,

PLAIN ENGLISH.

WHEREIN

THE REASONS AGAINST

an Accommodation are Answered; the miseries of the Kingdom in generall laid open, and shewn to be kept up, for the maintenance *of a few Persons, of decayed Fortunes;*

AND

An Application to the much *Wronged Citty.*

——— Leges, signataq́, jura,
Et causas, non fata sequor ———

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T. 6.

AN ANSWER TO A SEDITIOUS PAMPHLET, INTITULED, PLAINE ENGLISH.

AFter ſo many treaſonable Pamphlets, the ſale of which, if wiſely managed, would have much eaſed the conſcience of *Publique Faith*, there is come into my hands a peice of moſt rare ſedition. Wherein the wit of malice (much improved by proſperous miſchiefes, and growne impudent by a long ſucceſſefull practice on this diſtracted Nation) hath taken to it ſelfe a ſtrange boldneſſe, to repreſent unto us a cleere image of the ſad confuſion, ready to ſwallow up both King and People; and yet, prodigiouſly confident in the arts of perſwaſion, hopes to make the continuance of it appeare lovely, though in its owne colours, and to be popular, though pleading againſt the happines of the People. Whether Stateſ-men, or Lecturers have the greateſt influence in this difficult undertakings, to gaine ſuch abſolute Empire over our affections, that we ſhould grow ſo tame, as to be commanded to take pleaſure in our ſufferings, (who yet were of ſuch tender feeling lately, that the happineſſe of this Kingdome, which other Nations lookt upon with envy, becauſe not every way compleat, was to us not tolerable) and to provide for a continuall ſupply of

calamity, by adding fuell from the much decayed fruits of honeſt induſtry, which is all one, as if it ſhould be voted, That every man ſhould part with a twentieth part of his Eſtate, to buy wood to fire the remainder with) I leave to others to conjecture, according as they ſhall find the abuſe of Religion, or Policy more predominant. This I know, the cunning of the former (ſtill clouded in generall notions, and ſo fitted by wandring plauſibilities to abuſe halfe-witted men) hath been as fatall to this wiſely temper'd, and therefore long continued Monarchy (for age, and ſtrength in Kingdomes as well as men, are certain arguments of a healthy conſtitution) as the Religion of the latter, hath beene deſtructive of true godlineſſe.

I ſhall cleerly deliver my apprehenſion, and I beſeech all thoſe who have lift up their hands againſt their lawfull Soveraigne, or by contributions have put ſinewes into other Armes, and hired them to fight againſt, and murder Him, to enter into a ſtrict examination of their actions, and ſeriouſly to conſider, what accompt they can be able to render, when they ſhall appeare before the dreadfull tribunall of the Almighty, whoſe Vice-gerent the King is. Where they muſt expect to be charged with perjury, as having violated the oath of Allegiance, taken in relation to his Perſon, and in which they ſwore to defend his Life, preſerve his Rights, and Honour, to their utmoſt power; with murder, as committing it themſelves, or enabling wicked inſtruments to ſhed ſo much innocent blood; with Rebellion, which is as the ſinne of witchcraft, acting againſt the higheſt by vertue of ſubordinate powers; with the inſeparable attendants of warre, Robbery, ſpoyle, and Rapine; with Cowardiſe, that is, a daring to offend God, for feare of men, and as it were weighing their revenge in the ballance, *expenſâ hominum, & Dei irâ*, to take law from the former. Certainly the weight of theſe accuſations will eternally ſinke them, and me thinkes the contemplation of ſo high guilt ſhould ſtrike a trembling into all their joynts, & produce horrour, amazement, and confuſion of ſoule.

I heartily wiſh, men would be more familiar in their owne breſts, and conſult that great obligation which conſcience layes upon them in this point. For it is a ſcandall to Religion, and we may with ſome grounds ſuſpect the Chriſtianity of many, when

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we conſidet, that one Ordinance of the Houſes (a heavy one indeed, and which declares their right to our whole Eſtate, and makes all of us but Tenants at will) hath made more converts to the King, then the thirteenth Chapter to the *Romans*, applyed to the Lawes of this Land, and the oaths we ſtand obliged by. It is ſufficient for the Kingdomes happineſſe, that they are at laſt willing to yeeld their obedience, as being ſenſible of the calamities, which they have pull'd upon themſelves, but it is not ſufficient for their owne eternall felicity, unleſſe they doe it, as being ſenſible of their duty.

There are two motives, either of which is ſtrong enough to ſettle our ſad diſtractions by an happy Accommodation; if the people will be honeſt or wiſe, the wounds would quickly heale up. For they can neither fight againſt their King innocently, nor reaſonably. If it were not a crime of an high nature, yet it were folly in a high degree, to Arme thoſe who juſtifie oppreſſing them, that is, to beare the guilt of warring againſt their Soveraigne, and the miſery of ſtriking themſelves. For they have learnt by ſad experience, thoſe Armes which are lift up againſt the King, recoile into their owne bowells.

I find both in Citty, and Country, a generall inclination to Peace, the People being weary of that part of Popery, which they had unwarily entertained, to beat and whip themſelves.

I find likewiſe ſome few ingaged perſons, deeply vexed at this common defection to obedience, and they threaten theſe penitents, as ſo many Apoſtates, and though they cannot condemne, yet they hate their repentance, perceiving themſelves unfortunate in the Peoples inconſtancy, upon whoſe miſeries they had raiſed glorious ſtructures of wealth, honours, offices, and commands, which may now fall with the contrivers, becauſe the Many were not obſtinate in folly. It was hoped, when they had prevailed upon our underſtanding, by diſputing us into an imaginary happineſſe, beyond that of *Utopia*, they might have maſtered our ſenſe too, which for ſome time they did, but when their preſſures (which we ſwallowed with much patience, while they appeared phiſick, and ſome ſpaces of intermiſſion were allowed) became our daily food, we began to beleeve what we felt, not what others voted. Vpon this coldneſſe to advance private

ends, with hazard of publique deſtruction, there are ſtrong endeavours, and I hope the laſt eſſayes of dying tyranny, to keepe up in ſome, recover in others, their cauſeleſſe diſaffection to His Majeſty, and they omit no ill meanes to compaſſe a worſe end. To let paſſe the late diſreſpect to His Majeſty in His Meſſenger, when they were invited to more civility, by His kind reception of a Petition of no welcome nature, as being contrived by ſome diſaffected perſons, though His Majeſty were confident of the good affections of His Citty, which He evidently diſcernes is overawed by their and His enemies, and which was frighted by armed Troopes, ſo that they could not appeare with ſafety at the reading His gratious Anſwer, (what ever Mr *Pyms* gloſſe upon it ſuggeſt to the contrary) I verily beleeve the wiſe and honeſt part of the Citty, which were not all guilty, except in ſuffering it, would give more money, then *Publike Faith* hath cheated others of, to redeeme the carriage of this day from hiſtory. How will their Children bluſh, when they ſhall meet in the Citty Annales, with this paſſage; *After ten dayes waiting and attendance*, they were content to heare their Good King, becauſe Mr *Pym* had then finiſhed his invective, and was at leiſure to come into their common-Hall, and raile againſt him: And to ſay nothing of that falſe, ſeditious Declaration publiſhed in his name (it being not enough to impoſe falſe deſignes upon Him, and miſinterpret his actions and intentions, unleſſe they venture upon a neceſſary impudence, to belye His writings alſo, which yet a ſhort time muſt certainly diſcover) I ſhall confine my thoughts to ſome brieſe conſiderations upon occaſion of a moſt virulent Pamphlet, intituled, *Plaine Engliſh*. A peice of the moſt deſperate malice, and profeſſed ſedition, our language was ever guilty of. The *Florentine* wrote but tame Politiques, compared to his principles, who allowes himſelfe a full looſeneſſe from all bonds of government, and takes no check from either law, or conſcience.

His entrance is very ominous, I meet in the Frontiſpice with this ſentence, *Si populus vult decipi, decipiatur*. However he meant the application, this is the rule, by which the diſturbers of this State have wrought our miſeries; Deceiving the people, hath been the reall foundation upon which they have erected ſuch vaſt and aery fabriques of preferments, according to the meaſure of their

their ambition, and covetouſneſſe, and as thoſe corrupt affections have ſuggeſted modells.

I will begg one thing of the people, (and I ſhall deſire it more earneſtly, becauſe it doth infinitely conduce to their good) that they will allow themſelves the liberty to judge, as of the miſery, which they too evidently diſcerne by ſenſe, ſo of the cauſes of thoſe violent diſtempers, which they may eaſily find out, if they will call their memory to accompt for the actions of ſome yeares lately paſt: I am confident, I can lead them backward to the ſpring-head of their calamity, and ſhew the fountaine from which theſe ſtreames of blood have iſſued, that is, I can name unto them their plauſible enemies, who have pull'd upon them diſeaſe and death, under the names of remedies.

We were in a condition not long ſince, which all the world thought happy, but our ſelves; and the truth is, though we injoyed a high meaſure of felicity (as a ſecure peace, plenty at home, and free trading in all parts, and which is the bleſſing of all, undiſtracted conſciences, all conforming with Godly Zeale, and calme affections to the doctrine and diſcipline of the Church of England) yet there were ſome miſcarriages in government, which many wiſe and honeſt men did wiſh amended. Let them be more or leſſe, His Majeſty redreſſed what ever was called a grievance, and that with ſuch additionall favours, out of a conſcience of ſatisfaction for ſome former ſufferings, that we may thanke God for our bad Iudges, and thinke our ſelves happy in thoſe ſhort misfortunes, which were the mother of laſting bleſſings upon us and all poſterity.

Now the buſineſſe of the Common-wealth was at an end, the publike intereſt being ſo fully provided for, we could not find out a capacity of farther graces, and we expected the ſhort time they would have need to continue the Aſſembly, would have been ſpent in a reall acknowledgement of thoſe favours, not to be preſidented, even in the beſt times, and that they would have encouraged after Princes, to deſerve highly of their People, by as high a gratitude, in ſetling a plentifull revenue, and making Him a glorious Prince above His progenitors, according as they had promiſed Him and us, ſince He had performed his part, and made us a more happy People then our Anceſtors.

But inſtead of ſuch noble thoughts, we find private intereſt to give law to their proceedings, and diſcover vehement deſires in ſome perſons to certaine great offices, and unleſſe they may have their longing, all muſt miſcarry. The King not conceiving the not ſatisfying inordinate appetites could create any miſchiefs, (becauſe they could only come from the People, whoſe good in this He cheifly reſpected, (for the world knowes what overtures were made, if ſuch might be preferred) and they had ſmall reaſon to revenge ſo great a courteſie) He beſtowes offices, in relation to publique Intereſt, upon men of known affection to the lawes and liberties of their Country, and ſuch whoſe honeſty ſtill engages them to the weaker ſide, as oppoſing the Court, when moſt potent, in behalfe of the ſubject, and now partaking in its ſufferings, when popular fury tramples on juſt authority.

Though this might ſatisfie their reaſon, it could not their ambition, which as it produces gallant things, and though a vice is oftentimes the mother of vertues, when it workes proſperouſly, and without interruption, ſo like to choler aduſt, if obſtructed, and ſtopped in its courſe, is a dangerous paſſion, and ends in burning feavours and madneſſe. A way is contrived, which will certainly lead them to their deſigned preferments, and that is to get the diſpoſall of all into their owne power, (it would have appeared groſſe, even to the peoples apprehenſion, to demand aloud, offices for themſelves, and they would hardly have been brought to loſe their lives in this quarrell, and yet they hazard them, and their ſoules to boote, in a more unreaſonable cauſe, for when thoſe men did not dare to require plainly a leſſe thing, to be incumbents, they diſguiſe this in a higher requeſt, and challenge to be patrons of the great offices in State, and it were very ſtrange if they would not looke upon themſelves, as the fitteſt perſons to beſtow them upon.) But this they will not aske, till ſuch time, as they have reduced the King into ſuch condition, as he dare not deny, and therefore ſo order it, that they will then petition for it, when they have power to command. The fitteſt meanes to effect this was to ſettle the *Militia* by ſea and land, in ſuch hands, as they could give motion to, and accordingly they deſire the King to order the ſtrength of the Kingdom as they direct, upon pretence of apparent dangers; (ſuch as the

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Treason of the clout, and that designe of the plague upon the principall members, for which it deserved to have been voted out of the Citty, if at least upon a juditiall tryall, it could not plead, being sent for, and produce private instructions to that purpose; but if so, for ought I know, it came thither as legally, as their other Petitioners, and I am confident with a lesse murderous intent, though some may impute the harmlesse carriage of it selfe amongst them, to the prudent and happy foresight of those worthy Gentlemen, who (it is said) had their antidotes out of their pockets, before the danger was unsealed. However the Kingdome certainly did tremble at the very thought of some not improbable consequences, for suppose some should have petitioned that the Commons might be shutt up, becaus the plague was amongst them, and they were not able to shew any priviledge they had above ordinary men to infect others, or at least, that Maister *Pym*, Sir *Gilbert Gerard*, and the others, who were more familiar with the infection, should abstaine from the House, and then who should have discovered so many after plots and conspiracies to the people.)

But His Majesty, not seeing any probable grounds of feare from forraign enemies, and not desirous to raise up domestique, by tempting them to be willing to hurt, when they were enabled so to doe, thinkes it more convenient for the quiet of the Kingdome, to maintain the good old wayes of defence, which experience, the most faithfull argument, had manifested to be a sufficient provision for the safety of this land. Vpon this, His Navy, Forts, Armes and Ammunition are seized upon, and being devested of all power, they conceive him well prepared, for what was chiefly intended, and now was ripe for execution, the modest proposall of misplacing the great offices of the Kingdome, notwithstanding their carriages were unblamable, and putting themselves in their room, of whom they had a better opinion. I must professe my apprehension: By this one denyall, He hath deserved more of His Subjects, then by all former grants, notwithstanding they much exceed all the graces of His Predecessors, though put together. And yet this was the thing for which the misled people hazard their lives, and sacrifice their liberty, their estates, the lawes, to obtaine that by warre, which would robb them of the benefits of Peace.

The patterne was taken from the Reigne of *Henry* the third, and the ſame ſcene of miſery was likely to be renewed, though the Actors varyed. For we may make a probable conjecture of things to come by things paſt, the cauſes being equall and proportionable, and hiſtory, if prudently obſerved, is a faithfull prophecye. The King was forced to miſplace His faithfull ſervants, to make roome for thoſe, who were really his maiſters, and the managery of the Royall eſtate is committed to foure and twenty Commiſſioners, or Tribunes of the people. The chief of them perceive this power too much divided to ſatisfie their intereſts in themſelves and their dependants, and therefore force another Parliament, and contract it in three. But this triumvirate alſo according to the fate of equall authority, ends in one, and *Leiceſter* makes himſelfe *Dictator perpetuus*; upon this (as Thieves uſe to fall out in ſharing true mens goods, and this often times opens a way to the recovery) *Gloceſter* out of diſcontent takes part with the Kings faithfull friends, and gaining the victory, reſtores his injur'd maiſter to his former power. I beſeech my Country-men, by the love they owe unto themſelves (for in a ſhort time, it would have beene their owne condition, and they now are going, though in another way, yet to the ſame end) to repreſent unto their thoughts the ſad face of that age, and to conſider what an unfortunate thing the people was, who were led upon plauſible pretences through all thoſe changes of ambitious Lords, and ſome overgrowne Commons, and could find no end of calamity (being ſtill engaged from bad into worſe, and what they thought the height of ſufferings, being but a ſtep to greater evills) untill they ſubmitted unto the knowne and certain lawes.

I muſt plainly tell you, there was never any civill Warre, wherein the good of the people was not moſt cryed up, and yet leaſt intended. For aſſure your ſelves, the Intereſts of diſcontented Nobles, or Commons, that have gained a greater power in your affections, are not the ſame with you of lower ranke, and therefore they doe but abuſe you, and make you with hazard of your Eſtates, and lives and ſoules cut out away to their ends. What reaſon have you to thinke your ſelves unhappy, and the Common-wealth miſerable, if the Lord *Say* had not been made maiſter of the Court of Wards? No queſtion, you promiſed to

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your ſelves ſome extraordinary bleſſings in his diſcharge of that place; yet for ought I can obſerve, you might have found as great ſatisfaction from any other. It is ſomewhat ſtrange, but ſome I heare, having had experience of that Court, have been more confirmed in the Liturgy. As you find no unuſuall benefits from him (and yet it is hard to perſwade you not to venture your lives, to turne out old officers, and put new in their places, when after your eſtates are waſted, your wife and Children beggers, yet the Kingdome will find a change in the perſons only, not in the juſtice, except it be for the worſe, which you may have juſt reaſon to ſuſpect, if you will obſerve how things have been carried by them, even whilſt they ſtood upon their good behaviour, and were to doe exerciſe for their offices, and to approve themſelves the fitteſt perſons) So if you would unpaſſionately weigh the matter, there will not appeare any eſſentiall defect in governement, though Mr *Pym*, and others, doe not attaine preferments, as great as their deſires. What they would doe, when Magiſtrates, is not certaine ('tis poſſible they may amend, and put of thoſe corruptions, which hitherto they have not ſo much as diſſembled) But I am ſure by their former dealings as private men, they have gained no great reputation of juſtice where they are knowne, With what pious intentions they take ſo great paines to diſpoſe of the meanes of the Church, I cannot tell; This I know, they have ſhewed no extraordinary examples of vertue, in diſpoſing their owne eſtates. But not to make conjecture of future carriage by paſt actions, as if knowne bad perſons in their dealings betweene man & man, might not prove very vertuous Magiſtrates, yet I conceive, they cannot looke upon themſelves, as only deſerving, & if there be no dearth of worthy men, which of our lawes points out them, and makes it a crime to be puniſh't with an Army, to nominate any other equally capable? with all my heart, let them all be rich; let them all be honourable, I envy not. Yet you are not bound to make them ſo; they ſhould not buy offices at ſo deare a rate, and purchaſe them with your blood.

Obſerve I pray, by what degrees your calamity is come to ſuch an height, and how your warm affection, (which was very commendable) to the publique good, is improved into theſe devouring flames. Your deſires of ſuch or ſuch a conſtitution, were commonly

the effects of ſome mens private information (you being not much converſant in managing the ſtate) who ſuggeſt to you, they will be very beneficiall, and therefore petition you, to ſue to them for it. And to ſave you the trouble of all but comming to the Houſe, their thoughts are digeſted into your paper, this is preſented, and it is determined, a juſt meaſure of granting, *that you may be ſatisfied*. If this find any ſtop, you are put in mind of your own ſtrength; honeſt deſires arm'd with clubs will ſooner be hearkned to. Why doe you not redeem former errors, by going back the ſame way, in which they put you, and ſo petition for peace, that at leaſt they ſhould not dare, to exerciſe a preſen Warre upon you, and turne your own *Militia* into your boſomes, for harbouring thoſe guilty inclinations of reducing this Kingdom to be govern'd by knowne law again, a thing *Alderman Penington* hates beyond His Majeſty, or the Common-Prayer book? If it were then neceſſary to aſſent, *becauſe you deſired*, why not now, when your affections have been voted, the wiſeſt rule to vote by, and when you doe not think only, and come with an implicite faith, but as preſſed on by your ſufferings, and infallibly intruſted by the ſenſe of miſeries in the conveniency of an accommodation? If they deny, you may evidently diſcern, your deſires were made uſe of formerly to promote not your own ends. The truth is, a petition to advance the Kingdomes happineſſe, carries in it ſomwhat of incivility; for the ſenſe of it is, that your Houſes may not be ranſackt, you would have them lay down every conſiderable revenues, which they conſtantly receive, though they ſit ſecure in the Citty, without any ſcruple of non-reſidence, and therefore unleſſe you can aſſure them preferments in peace, they will be unwilling to kill their patrimony, Warre. In the meane time, I confeſſe, you may with as much reaſon, and more innocency, follow your oppoſite inteteſt, and deny to pay wages, only to keep up the trade of being undone.

That ſome men ſhould make it their deſigne to continue theſe theſe ſad diſtractions, I doe not at all wonder; Profit is a powerfull motive, and *------illis utile bellum*, muſt have ſtrong influence. It is the moſt innocent excuſe any of them can pretend to, and ſome have ingenuouſly made it, they know not how to live handſomely out of this way, *Neceſſe habent peccare, ut honeſtè vivant*. If you marke

mark it, the point is very consonantly stated, it is lawfull to take up armes in case of necessity, by which they mean their own wants: All this is done in their own defence, for the law (that high malignant and most unmercifull enemy) would take part with their creditors, and then the remainder of their life, must be lingerd out in a melancholy Goale.

But that many well meaning of the People, should be ingaged in the prosecution, is very strange, since warre is not delightfull in it selfe; I cannot imagine there is any carnall pleasure in killing, or in being killed, except it proceed from some high malignity in nature, which their simplicity is not guilty of. I have lookt with all possible diligence into the causes of it, and after my most strict enquiry, I can pitch only upon this, that their affections are betrayed to their weak reasons, which beleeving they are satisfied, when indeed they are confounded by multiplicity of words, mistaking plenty of language for proofes, out of inability to examine the premises, yeeld up their consent to the conclusions, that an Accommodation is *impossible*, therefore vainly attempted, or *unsafe*, therefore disadvantagiously sought after, or *dishonourable*, therefore unworthily consented to; or *Irreligious*, therefore impiously desired.

These are the heads, to which all shadowes of reason in this libell (as likewise in some speeches ill becoming the grave assemblies in which they were uttered, (who should not act the Furies, and cast in firebrands, and inflame the People with irreconcileable hatred) may be reduced.

1. It is not impossible. The King wooes you to it, and esteemes it above any delight can happen to him in this life, and will accompt it a greater victory to recover His Subjects by Reason, then the Sword, being desirous to rule over the Man in you, not the Beast, and not so much to command your Bodies, as Reigne in your Brests. There can be no hinderance, except in the perverse wills of some, which he hath endeavoured to remove by all faire meanes, granting to us, as much as any sober man can wish for, our Liberty, our Property, our Lawes, our just Priviledges of Parliament, and our Religion (if we have not entertained some new worship, since the daies of Q. *Elizabeth*, and different from that which is established by Parliament. And he desires nothing

from us, but what plain and evident Law inveſts him with. What madneſſe hath rob'd us of our underſtanding, to teare one another, without any reall cauſe of differences? If we deny to any man, (and certainly it will hold in proportion for the King) that right, which Law, the rule of juſtice, gives, we muſt conclude our ſelves to fight in a wrong cauſe, and though we may eſcape the enemies ſword, yet we cannot hope to fly from Gods wrath, the ſin will deeply wound our conſciences, and ruine eternally the inward man. Beleeve it, too much is already done, it will require a long time of repentance, and many teares, before you can waſh away the ſtaine of bloud which hath been ſpilt. A deep melancholy ſeizes me, and ſad thoughts poſſeſſe my ſoule, when I but think of the lamentable condition of thoſe, who ſhall fall in actuall Rebellion, *Quibus non vacat penitere*, who are ſnatcht to judgement in warme guilt of deſtroying their Soveraigne, and Gods annoynted. Aſſure your ſelves, God will reckon with you for the murder of your King, and of many other, though yet living, for you ſhewd your good wills. As he that lookes upon a Woman to luſt after her, hath committed fornication, ſo he that ſhootes at any, hath ſhed his bloud, and muſt give accompt in the Court of Heaven, for the death of thoſe which ſurvive his miſerable fall, becauſe the goodneſſe of God in preſerving, can be no Apology for the malice of man, endeavouring to deſtroy.

2. It is not unſafe. Here eſpecially their Arts appeare, it was eaſy to abuſe us into miſerable perſons, when we had given up, and betrayed our reaſon to their authority, but to perſwade us againſt ſenſe, to be willing to continue ſo, will ſhew them excellently wicked Orators, *ingenioſiſſimè facundos, ſed in malo publico.*

They are acquainted with good authors for this purpoſe, and like wiſe Schollers propoſe to themſelves the ableſt maſters for imitation. When men have long time troden in rough pathes, and wearied themſelves in the waies of ungodlineſſe, and begin to recollect the comforts and advantages of their former innocence, and reſolve to crave pardon for offences paſt, then the Divells part begins, it is too late, there is no going back, for you doe but vainely caſt away the profits of ſinne, which might be injoyed for a ſeaſon, and cannot hope to reap the fruits of righteouſneſſe,

God

God is too highly provoked. Away with thoſe cold feares, and fruitleſſe melancholies, which fooles call Religion, they may rob you of much preſent pleaſure, cannot free you from future pain. As he brought them into the ſnare, by temptations of profit, and pleaſures, ſo he keeps them there by ſuggeſtions of deſpaire. So they; the ſinne of Rebellion is greater then can be forgiven. Though the King wooe you, withall poſſible expreſſions of mercy and forgiveneſſe, yet *manet altâ mente repoſtum.* Though he offer ſafe and honorable propoſitions, yet *you have ſmall reaſon to believe they will be kept. I know what to think. And I may tell you what the Italians ſay, they feare courteſies ſometimes more then injuries, and this jealouſy is not alwaies folly. I would make it a rule for my own practice. If my provoked enemy ſuddainly, and without ground become miraculouſly kind, and cloſe with me, I ſhall remember* Ioab *and* Amala. *I aſk pardon: my Melancholy is deep.*

Wicked man! that doth invenome the wound that it may never heale, and blow that fire, which the teares of many thouſand diſtreſſed perſons in this Kingdom, are ready to quench, by laying down a moſt unchriſtian principle, drawn from the depth of malice, which yet common experience convinces of evident falſehood, That a Kingdome once divided can never ſafely cloſe, that there is no deſtroying the enmity, without the men alſo, that we ought not to ſuffer peace, except it come after deſolation. Theſe are *Arcana ſeditionis*, the myſteries of Rebellion, to work upon the peoples feares, *una ſalus, nullam ſperare ſalutem*, and tell them, they muſt endanger their lives, that they may be ſafe: They have no way left to raiſe Souldiers, but by making them firſt cowards.

But believe it, my much abuſed Country-men, they endeavour to make you afraid, where no juſt ground of feare is, and thoſe few perſons, deſperate themſelves, becauſe ſpecified, and refered to a tryall by plain and evident law, which they are certain muſt condemne them, would make your lives their bucklers. They would fall with the Kingdom, and hide their ſhame in the ruine of this Nation. Your caſe is infinitely different; for His Majeſty is confident of your honeſt intentions, even in your bad actions, he knowes you were ſeduced, and that, however you have offended, it was in the ſimplicity of your hearts. He knowes likewiſe,

that

that there are many thouſands in the Citty, whoſe minds are with Him, though their bodies are in their power. He looks upon many of you as well deſerving, upon many as not at all guilty, upon the reſt, as faulty, yet as having ſuffered more already, then is pleaſant to His remembrance, and if you will now performe your duty, after you have ſeen the ſad conſequences of your unhappy miſtakes, he will not adde to thoſe afflictions, which are brought upon you, by your (in this too) juſt friends, who being the authors of your faults, thought it reaſonable to be ſo of your puniſhment alſo.

Your condition you perceive, is not alike in reſpect of your ſecurity by full pardon, which (though this libell call it *a miraculous kindneſſe, and cloſing without ground*) is alwaies wiſely offered by a King to His Subjects, becauſe whoever be the gainer, He is ſure to looſe, and if you look in ſtories, you will find it (though they labour to tempt your jealouſies) religiouſly obſerved. And there is great probability it ſhould be ſo, there lying upon Princes two ſtrong obligations, both of honeſty and intereſt. For to violate faith in this, were to make a new breach, and ſuch an one, as could not be made up, becauſe there would be no place left for truſt, that is, it were to ſet his own houſe a fire, without poſſibility of being quenched, 'till a great part, and perhaps the whole were conſumed,

There are not the ſame encouragements for the proſecution of Warre in you and them. You hazard your lives, and fortunes, which might be ſafe, and they venture to ſave their lives and fortunes, which are certainly loſt, if Law have but a free courſe.

Your Trading is decayed, no ſupplies come in, no hopes of recrewting the main ſtock, and yet they command you to part with much of that, (and may ſummon out the remainder by the ſame juſtice) to the end, men whom you lately deſpiſed, men of broken fortunes, may live gallantly, and inſult over you. Is it not much to be deſired, that your trading were reſtored, though Alderman *Peningtons* Paſſes ſhould be taken away. If there be a neceſſity, that he and *Ven*, and ſome others ſhould be maintained upon your expences, you might much better doe it by way of collections, and purchaſe lands, and ſome faire ſeates for them, upon condition they will let you be reſtored to happineſſe, and be acquainted once

again

again with free commerce, that Sea from which plenty flowes into this Kingdom. Otherwiſe your fortunes will in ſhort time be exhauſted, and you will be as very beggers, as they were before they were made maſters of your Eſtates.

As you have no reaſon to draw on in the ſame yoke with them, firſt, becauſe you may come fairely off. Secondly, becauſe you would be impoveriſhed in the progreſſe, and though you may eſcape death, (which yet is doubtfull) yet you will certainly looſe the comforts of life. So thirdly, becauſe if the action miſcarry (as it is in a hopefull way, there being three very conſiderable Armies on foot for defence of His Majeſty, and our Lawes, and though you ſhould prevaile for a time, yet you muſt expect the Kings allies, and indeed all Chriſtendome would then be powred upon you, leaſt this example, ſo dangerous to Princes, and the Quiet of all States, ſhould tempt others to the like Rebellion by proſperous Treaſon) the iſſue of the warre would not be equally unfortunate to thoſe who ſet you on work, and to you; they have the greateſt hopes, and you the greateſt feares. For conſider with your ſelves, you have not the Navy in your power, not any ſhip attending, and Trunkes prepared for ſome more holy place (and if you had, they would quickly make them ſo empty, they would not be the price of waſtage.) Is it not high time to imbrace offered ſafety, when thoſe who ſpur you on to danger, have put themſelves in a poſture of flying? I could wiſh the Ports were in the cuſtody of honeſt men, and ſuch as would not ſuffer the Kingdome to be beggered, by letting the wealth of it be tranſported.

3ly It is not diſhonourable. I cannot find how it ſhould be any loſſe of reputation, to doe that which Wiſdome and Religion requires at our hands. To be obſtinately fooliſh, or ſinfull, are no characters of things honorable.

For the Houſes to doe what hath been required, and it may be is expected; I had almoſt ſaid, what ſome of themſelves are about to doe, were to make them ridiculous and vile, in the eyes of diſcerning people, as the relinquiſhing their orders &c. If ſome faults cannot be juſtified, I ſhall not have a worſe opinion of the authors, becauſe they are guilty of repentance. (It will gain no credit amongſt good men, to be conſtantly bad.) The ſhame was to commit them, it is ingenuity to retract. Confeſſion, and amendment

is a returne to innocence at the back doore. I have heard indeed *tutum ſceleribus per ſcelera eſt iter* (though if you obſerve ſtories, you ſhall find ſuch high offendors, as rule their actions by this principle, have not gone through with their wickedneſſe, their growth in ſinnes hath been ſometimes a reprieve from puniſhment, but they have come at laſt to fearefull ends) but I never heard, that it was an honourable juſtification of ills allready acted, to attempt greater.

For the King to doe, what they have deſired (though at another time, it would have been unreaſonably asked, and diſhonourably granted,) This yet is a good ingenuous confeſſion, dropt from his pen unwarily; I deſire all the Kingdom to take notice, that thoſe which he acknowledges unreaſonable requeſts, and fit to be rejected, cauſed theſe bad times, and then an argument is made, they ought to be granted, becauſe the times are bad. *Is now both reaſonable and honourable to a true judgement, if it be honour in a Prince to promote, by all poſſible meanes, the happineſſe and ſecurity of His people.* An excellent ſeed-plot of calamities this to the whole Kingdom, and a brave encouragement to diſturbers of the publique Peace, that the King ſhould be bound to confirme their faults, and make their unreaſonable deſires, Law, becauſe otherwiſe they will not ſuffer the people to be quiet.

4ly It is not irreligious. If God had commanded us (as he ordered the children of Iſraels journey to the land of *Canaan*) to paſſe to Heaven through a red Sea of blood, I ſhould readily part with all thoughts of happineſſe here, and endeavour to attain the Peace of God, by keeping up enmity amongſt my brethren. But ſince he doth not only permit, but commands us, as much as is poſſible, to live peaceably with all, I like well, and ſhall endeavour to advance this quiet innocence.

It is very ſtrange, that men ſhould with ſuch bold impiety, engage God in their quarrells, and though they prodigall ſo much Chriſtian bloud upon earthly conſiderations, yet pretend to a Commiſſion from Heaven for it. They begin the fray, and then (whether he will or no) they ſubſtitute God their ſecond. What would Heathen think of that expreſſion, which fell from the pen of a Chriſtian, nay of a Popular and leading Divine, who calls the Earle of *Eſſex, Lord of Hoſts*? certainly he might with

Mr *Burranges.*

as

as low blaſphemy have called him their *Ieſus*, their *Saviour*.

From whence come warres and fightings amongſt you? Saint *Iames* anſwers in another queſtion, *come they not hence, even of your luſts, that warre in your members?* Conſider with your ſelves impartially, and tell me, if that unſetled *Militia* of their affections, hath not cauſed this ſad confuſion about the other? if envy, at miſplaced preferments, (which hath betrayed it ſelfe in frequent complaints) it endeavours to better their own fortunes, under the ſpecious pretence of bettering our Lawes (which is nothing really, but directing them to ſhow more reſpect and favours to ſuch and ſuch perſons) hath not provoked this publique calamity, and theſe unnaturall diviſions, which yet you are exhorted to foment, even for Gods ſake?

For though men be weary of the preſent, and deſire to tumble into their former conditions, it ſeemes not agreeable to the order of divine diſpenſation, that all this ſtirre ſhould be made, this blood ſhed, to produce a cold Accommodation; doubtleſſe the period of this buſineſſe, will be ſome great alteration, Liberty or Tyranny, Popery or true Piety. And againe he tells us, he has a good mind to pray for peace, *but his mouth is ready to be ſtopt with that verſe: Ier. 46. 7. How can the ſword be quiet, ſeeing the Lord hath given it a charge againſt England?* The ſenſe of his argument, which concludes againſt any Accommodation, as unlawfull, is this; it is decreed (nor can thy fate &c,) and we are bound to execute Gods vengeance upon this Land.

He runnes on in this ſtraine, *God hath laid a foundation and tempered the morter with blood, wherefore the reſt of the building muſt not be dawbed up with untemper'd morter.* Therefore we muſt kill one another, and ſee what comes of it, (if this be to build up, what is their pulling down? It will be long! before they will think they have morter enough, all the duſt in the land muſt firſt be drunk with blood.) In the following words there is a little reaſon, and leſſe ſenſe, *There are many, though not Prophecies, yet ſad predictions, which Godly and wiſe men have found by prayer and obſervation to be fulfil'd upon us, before we can look for happineſſes.*

Theſe are their uſuall waies of reaſoning, they have a kind of fluency of expreſſing generall nothings, by which they turne the peoples braines, and make them drunk with paſſion towards the

concluſion. Let him and the reſt deal plainly, and if they have any letters of Mart from Heaven, wherein we are commanded to cut one anothers throats, let them be produced, and an order made for Printing and publiſhing them, and we will preſently goe about the good work, and forget all thoughts of Accommodation.

Another argument is, *They ought to ſuffer no accõmodation, except built upon the foundation of truth, and ſuch an one by no meanes will be aſſented to.* Yes, very cheerfully, and more cordially then you, & the great reformers could wiſh, though they pretend much to deſire it. For it is evident, by countenancing, encouraging, nay raiſing Schiſme in the Church, they have bin enabled to hatch rebellion in the State. They have plowed with Gods Heifer, making Religion the ſlave of policy, and under pretences of advancing his ſervice, have endeavoured to preferre themſelves to the greateſt commands.

I have made a ſearch (as deep as I was able) into the meanes of effecting theſe miſerable things, and the accompt I can give, relates much to abuſed religion, as the moſt proportionable cauſe of theſe diſtempers. There are a generation of men, who upheld and juſtifie this unbounded power (which hath already been executed with intolerable iniuſtice upon many, and is equally deſtructive of the rights of all, when they ſhall pleaſe to apply it) who looke upon the body, in which they are contented to place it, as upon ſo many friends, which for this ſervice they doubt not will gratifie them in advancing ſome other ends, eſpecially they being ſuch, as that Body pretends at leaſt to be moſt agreeable to their deſires. The maine end of all is a liberty of Religion, in oppoſition to thoſe bonds, which the profeſſion (orthodox) in Queen *Elizabeths* happy raigne, (notwithſtanding thoſe many attempts in the ſame nature, as our preſent diſtractions, and upon the ſame principles) and the diſcipline then eſtabliſhed, did lay upon men. It is almoſt a miracle that a people ſo diſagreeing amongſt themſelves, that in one family there are many Churches, ſhould yet unanimouſly conſpire to fight againſt *Iſraell*. There is ſome little probability, they may deſtroy this preſent Church, it is altogether impoſſible they ſhould erect, in the roome of it, ſuch an one as they fancy to themſelves. For it is manifeſt (if it were lawfull for His Maieſty to ſuffer Church and State to be miſerably

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ruin'd by that confuſion, into which endeavours of this nature would irrecoverably put them) ſhould the King grant them a full power to order things, according as they ſhall think moſt fitting, they would be as farre from that ſatisfaction, with which in vaine they flatter themſelves, as when they firſt began to make this State unhappy. As yet crafty men (which abuſe their weakneſſe for private intereſts) keep them in generalls, and nouriſh in them a beliefe, all ſhall be granted, what ever they deſire; whereas if they were but ſo wiſe, to ſuffer themſelves to be perſwaded to compare their particular requeſts, they would find them full of contradiction. And when this diviſion did once appeare, they would by mutuall oppoſition be diſabled to overthrow the good temper of this government. But as yet, they moſt unhappily conſpire to the ruine of the whole, and are ſtrengthned to deſtroy themſelves by nothing more then their own weakneſſe, and moſt indiſcreet obſtinacy, not to apprehend the impoſſibility of bettering themſelves by this chang, with ſuch unreaſonable earneſtneſſe purſued.

That they may more eaſily be undeceived, I would obtaine of them, that they will be pleaſed to deſcend into particulars, and allow themſelves leaſure to inquire into what ſatisfaction they have reaſon to expect, in things concerning Religion.

It is manifeſt, all kinds of Sects (though as much oppoſite to one another, in particular tenents, as all are to the truth) are uſed as inſtruments to advance the deſignes of ſome few, and in the meane time, they are fed with hopes, and vaine perſwaſions, that this is a certain way to compaſſe their deſires, whereas the iſſue (if they at leaſt could goe through with the buſineſſe, and alter the preſent government, under which our fore-fathers have ſo many hundred yeares liv'd happily) will be no other then this, when they have been ſo long imployed in journey-work for others, they will not be able to ſet up for themſelves. They will find when it is too late, all thoſe promiſes, in which they ſo much confided, are like his, who aſſured the pariſhioners, (that they might prevaile with the Patron of the Vacants benefice, by importunacy in his behalfe) when ever they did acquaint him with their deſire, he would procure by prayer what weather they pleaſed. According to their different wants, ſome deſired fair weather, others requeſted raine, &c. (what was too little for high grounds, being too

much for the Vallies) The concluſion was, he ſent them backe without any ſatisfaction, bidding them agree unanimouſly what weather they would have, and then they ſhould not pray in vain. So is it, in this multiplicity of Sects; They agree thus farre to overthrow our preſent Religion, and accordingly they are gratifyed with the diſcountenancing of the Common-prayer-book, and branding the moſt able and pious defenders of the Proteſtant profeſſion with the marke of Popiſhly affected. But when they ſhould come to ſet downe a particular Creed, and preſcribe a rule of Faith, then they would begin to damne one the other. I will undertake thoſe men ſhall condemne themſelves, that is, the major part ſhall reject every forme which is propoſed, and vote the aſſertors of ſome tenets in them either Schiſmatiques, or Heretiques: So that it is very obvious, to what confuſion the Church of *England* is betrayed, by the undertakers of the great worke of reformation.

That my Country-men may not grow cold in their moſt reaſonable deſire of an accommodation, becauſe groundleſly declamed againſt, as if it ſhould not be founded on truth, that is, that they may not neglect to love themſelves, for feare they ſhould not love God as they ought, who takes no delight either in their temporall or eternall miſery, both of which they may avoid, if they will not be wanting to themſelves; I ſhall aſſure them, nothing can be more acceptable to His Majeſty, and His faithfull followers, then this condition of ſetling true Religion, which He conceives the fitteſt meanes, as to procure a preſent calme, ſo to conſerve this Kingdome in future tranquillity. And that the enemies of peace may not make advantages, as formerly, by calling for truth, (as if wanting among us) I ſhall deſire you to require particular ſatisfaction from them, what they meane by it; If the doctrine of the Church of *England* (which your religious anceſtors profeſſed here on Earth, (and as you beleeve) enjoy the benefit of it in Heaven) The King countenances it by His moſt exemplary practice, and will conſent, nay deſire, that penalties appointed by act of Parliament, ſhould be duly executed upon all offendors: if they meane any other Religion (as they muſt if you and we differ from them) you perceive what little reaſon you have to fight on their ſide in the quarrell of Religion, who are the only men, which oppoſe

that

that Doctrine, which the King, and you, and infinitely the greater part of this Kingdome acknowledge true and orthodox.

I have already removed all those rubbs, which he or others caſt in between you and happines, and now I have leiſure to take notice of ſome ſcatter'd paſſages by which you may gueſſe of what ſpirit thoſe men are, who ſtand in the gap (not ſuch as God ſought for, *Ezek.* 22.30. to ſtay the deſtruction of the people, but) that they may hinder the King and his loving Subjects from mutuall embraces, and you from performing your Duty, and Him from being able to afford you His Protection, which formerly produced peace and plenty in your ſtreets.

Suppoſe (if it be lawfull to be ſuppoſed) that the Parliament, through the abſence of many reſolved men now imployed in particular ſervices for their owne Countries, out of an intolerable wearineſſe of this preſent condition, and feare of the event, agree to the making up of an unſafe, unſatisfying Accommodation. This would beget a queſtion, which I hope I ſhall never have occaſion to diſpute, whether in caſe the repreſentative body cannot or will not diſcharg their truſt, to the ſatisfaction, not of fancy, but of reaſon in the people; they may reſume (if ever yet they parted with a power to their manifeſt undoeing) and uſe their power ſo far as conduces to their ſafety. I ſhall take the boldneſſe to apply my ſpeech to the Houſes, and aske them, if they have not managed this buſineſſe rarely, and brought things to a fine paſſe; you took upon you to rule the King, and now the very ſame arguments are put into the peoples mouths, and they are exhorted to govern you. You were often told by His Majeſtie, (whoſe writings haue prov'd ſo many Oracles) though it would not be hearkned to, becauſe your turne was firſt ſerved. That the ſame principles, which rob'd him of His Rights, would invade yours, and that the people, from whom you could not long conceale the myſterie, would at length ſet up for themſelves. So that though you intended only a change of Government, and not to leſſen the ruling power, but place it in your ſelves, and notwithſtanding you cried Liberty, you meant but this, That none ſhould impriſon but your ſelves, and that you only would impoſe bonds at diſcretion; yet in truth theſe proceedings did evidently tend to Anarchy and confuſion. You would think it very ſtrang, if it were made appeare, that ſome of your own Members doe manage this

doctrine,

doctrine, and try how they can work the people by it. For they muſt, and are reſolved, to be faithfull to their own ends, which they have Chriſtned, the ſafety of the Common-wealth, and if Parliaments ſtand in the way, and hinder them in the courſe, it is their fault, that they are tumbled down. Here is one paſſage may make you ſhrewdly ſuſpect fowler play amongſt your ſelves, then you could ever imagine. After this libell hath endeavoured to infuſe a ſpirit of Rebellion into the people, the cloſe is, *Let me not be miſtaken, I am farre from the monſter of a Democracy; that which I call to the People for, is but a quick and regular motion in their own ſphere, to doe that which the Parliament once call'd upon them for, to contribute their beſt helpes to two great workes, of mercy and Iuſtice, mercy to the Kingdom in its preſervation, Iuſtice upon its enemies in their deſtruction.*] Mercy, and Iuſtice, that is, pronounce a pardon of us the ſix Members, and all ſuch as we ſhall declare capable of living, by giving them our hands to kiſſe, (they have a ſound preſident in *Marius*, who regulated popular rage by this token) and paſſe ſentence, and put it in execution your ſelves, that is, make your ſelves Iudges & Hangmen of all the Kings faithfull friends. But *they muſt move regularly, and in their own ſphere*, mark that, they are wooed to beleeve themſelves above King and Parliament, yet they muſt keep in too, they are not the higheſt power, *no Democracy intended*. Who then is above them? certainly their good maſters, who put them into motion, who think they can ſet bounds unto the people, as God unto the waters (which are an Embleme of them, & therefore they are joyned in the *Pſalme*, *who ſtilleth the raging of the Sea, and madneſſe of the people, and ſay unto them, hitherto ſhall you paſſe and no farther.*) Doe but obſerve, the Parliament are now deſerted, as not able to advance their ends, and addreſſes are made to thoſe below them, *omnia ſerviliter pro imperio*. It is very fit the people ſhould beſtow Preferments, Offices of rule, and Iudicature muſt be made more temporary and arbitrary in reſpect of them, then formerly. There is a neceſſity of this, and that muſt give a Law, though he confeſſes, *this will ſound harſh to men even accompted moderate*. Leaſt the people ſhould check at conſcience, not daring to uſurp that power, which God and the Law of this Land hath placed elſewhere, and to which they have ſubmitted by oath; and fearing to doe evill, though

though good ſhould really come of it, being not ſatisfied with that Conſcientious Lords expoſition, *that the Apoſtles precept did bind private men, not perſons in publique authority*; all ſcruples are removed, and they are told, *though the means outrun command, their faithfull proſecution of the end deſigned them, which is the ſafety and preſervation of the Kingdome, and in it their own, may juſtly excuſe them, if not commend them.*] Let them bring things about even how they pleaſe, this honeſt deſire of innovation will juſtify all. I am aſhamed you ſhould be whipt with a rod of your own making, and that you are brought into ſuch ſtraits, you cannot condemne this doctrine, except you paſſe ſentence upon your own. For you are preſſed with your own authority, *This appeares by the votes of acceptable ſervice.*

Me thinks you ſhould take to heart your unhappineſſe, that you have given countenance, and guided your practice by ſome principles, which threaten the very being of all Parliaments. As this for one, which ſubmits the ſupream Court, King, and Nobles, and Commons, to the diſcretion of the people, and you may eaſily conjecture, who will procure themſelves to be made their tribunes.

Neither are thoſe reaſons, for which they will not hearken to a preſent accommodation, leſſe deſtructive of future Parliaments. For if the Kingdome muſt not be happy, till they will think themſelves ſafe, and will not think themſelves ſafe, untill they have all power in themſelves, becauſe if granted to the King (according as our Lawes doe unwarily diſpoſe it) there is a poſſibility he may faile his truſt; It is more then probable, and very conſonant to their own grounds, that upon the ſame feares they will never conſent to lay down this power, and returne into their Countries, as private perſons, but require ſome Act to be made (becauſe they cannot vote themſelves immortall) that either the major part ſhall ſupply their failing, by nominating ſucceſſors (for if the people retain this priviledge, they are again unſafe, and may poſſibly be undermined by degrees) or elſe, that they ſhall diſpoſe of their places by their laſt Will and Teſtament, to the heires of their bodies, Male, (or female, if they pleaſe) for ever.

If engaged men be deſerted by thoſe by whom they have been imployed, it will be diſhonourable &c. It is a pretty art this, to perſwade the people that they ſet them on work, and therefore are

bound to beare them out in it; I confesse many evill spirits have been raised by them, who have been miserably deceived, and are like the Conjurer, who thinks he commands the Divell, but the Divell knows, he is the governor & imployes the other to his own confusion. All that can reasonably be me[illegible] by *deserting*, is only this, That the people, having no reason t[illegible] upon them other mens faults, are contented to let them stand, or fall, by known, and certain Laws. If they were innocent, they had just cause not only to endure, but to rejoyce in a Legall tryall, which will vindicate their credit to the world; but if there be no other argument to prolong the Kingdoms misery, but only to provide for the impnnity of those, which were the causes of it, J see no reason why the people should perish for their guilt. I cannot tell what others think, but I will deliver my private opinion; though His Majesty in extraordinary mercy, should restore even to the persons excepted their Lives, which are forfeited in Law, yet this could hardly prevaile with them, to put a period to their mischiefes, because they are fallen from so vast hopes, and they must probably fear the incensed People, who (things once setled) will be able clearly to discerne the true causes of their sufferings, and their losses smarting more in coole[illegible]od, it is not unlikely they may look upon them with indignation and contempt. In the mean time this is no good argument to pe[illegible]swade the People to maintain them by warres with so unavoidable disadvantages, because they have just grounds to hate them in Peace.

Here therefore let it be considered (nay let it be no longer considered, in re tam justâ non est deliberandum) whether with all diligence (I had almost said with all violence) the ordinance for assessing the non contributers be not to be put in execution. I have sadly considered the distractions of this Kingdome, and these miseries in which a few discontented persons have engaged their unhappy country; and yet I am not so much afflicted with our sufferings, as amazed at the cause thereof, which is no other but this; After His Majesty hath to His utmost power satisfied the publique interest, by providing (with as much certainty as humane wisdome is able) a full security to the people of future happinesse, (for he hath not only cured all our former distempers, by taking away what ever grievances we could complain of, but likewise

hath

hath confirmed our health in a Trienniall Parliament, by which ſeaſonable conſtitution, vitious humors may be corrected, before they can grow to any dangerous head, becauſe as in the naturall, ſo in the civill body, *quotidiè aggregatur aliquid, quod quandoq; indiget curatione:*) After all this, the only ground of quarrell is, he will not ſuffer others to practiſe, what was diſliked in him, and what, after experience had manifeſted the inconveniences, he readily amended. They like it well (as juſt reaſon they have) he ſhould govern only by certain & known Lawes; but withall they challenge to themſelves a liberty and right to recede from them (for particular ends,) as oft as they ſhall ſay it will benefit the publique. Is it not ſtrange (I dare not ſay a conſidering, yet) a very conſiderable party of this Kingdom (for this is judged not by heads but hands, men may fight ſtoutly, though they know not why) nay ſuch as conceived themſelves ſo much afflicted under arbitrary power (not ſo much grieved with the ſenſe of preſent evills, as the feare of poſſible conſequences, for though their underſtandings were not extraordinary, yet their Logique was their greateſt affliction) ſhould know no other motive of diſloyalty and Rebellion, then the eſtabliſhment of this government by meere will? In what a wretched eſtate are we Engliſhmen inthralled? *Magna Charta* and the *Petition of Right* troden under foot, and not only the benefit of them denied, but men impriſoned for pleading them. It were ſafe for us, that we could forget there were ſuch things amongſt our Lawes, our Liberty, our Property invaded, and free-borne Subjects, and men that lately had faire Eſtates, become ſlaves and beggers. We may rejoyce in ſome circumſtances of our miſeries, that there is a univerſall decay of trading in the Citties, that in the Country the ploughs will be forced to grow idle, and the paſtures unacquainted with Cattle: for if a way were open to induſtry we had no incouragements to uſe it. Certainly not any will take paines in getting, and care in keeping an Eſtate, which is blown away with one breath, and made not ours, by an Ordinance.

They perceive our ſufferings are growne up to that height, that they begin to feare our inſupportable injuries may tempt us to impatience. To prevent this, we are over-awed by Armies, eſpecially they in that famous Citty (late the glory, now the pitty

of the Christian world.) *Some feare hands, but let them assure themselves the power of* Parliament *and* Militia *in the hands of well affected to the Parliament, can leave no grounds of terrour in the minds of the Citty*, they may boldly execute, what ever is, or shall be decreed.

This was the sad condition of Athens, under the thirty Tyrants, brought upon them by the same degrees, (for many of them were at first reall lovers of their Country, but the fatall temptation of power to declare that law, which was indeed their honour or profit, corrupted their affections) and kept up in the same way, by arming one part of the Cittizens, whose particular interests were satisfyed, in sharing the spoyle and robbery of the other. Indeed they were not able fully to master them, by reason a great part of their *Militia* were tender-hearted, and could not so put off all bowells of Compassion, as to abuse them enough, looking upon them as old acquaintance, as fellow Cittizens, as Kinsfolks, and remembring too, their owne Children might one day suffer the same things. Wherefore they require ayd and brotherly assistance from *Sparta*, which entertained, made the Citty then compleatly miserable. Let me aske the afflicted Cittizens one question; Doe you not beleeve that you owe more to the goodnesse of His Majesties faithfull Subjects, Our Brethren of *Scotland*, then to any want of endeavouring it, that this part of the Tragedy is not imitated?

If you desire a more full relation (as there may be a melancholy pleasure in beholding the picture of your owne calamity,) I shall referre you to *an Answer to the Observations*, where if you compare your miseries, and change Athens into *London*, you will find, that Story speakes your griefes.

But as yet, I have but told you, where you may read your disease; I may perhaps direct you to a remedy, by acquainting you with the method of their cure. And this comfort I can give you, you are not altogether so desperate, because strangers are not (*as yet*) put over you. It concernes you to make the more hast, and regaine your former health, while your recovery is (*yet*) easy.

Many of the Cittizens being spoyled of their goods, many (and those too of the best ranke, and most known reputation) committed to prison, and many forsaking their Country, this height

of

of misery, animated their resolution into a gallant undertaking. Their former sufferings made them now as highly active, and certainly just griefes doe not cow, but raise the spirits into as just indignation, and produce noble flames, such as will devoure the unworthy Authors of their oppression.

How easie is it for men afflicted to performe brave things, by extraordinary valour! They doe but hazard the losse of that life, the comforts of which are lost already; without which, to live, is so farre from being pleasant, it cannot be suffer'd by generous minds. Some Cittizens betake themselves to Armes; and as the cause was noble, (to redeeme property destroyed, and liberties oppressed, and to make their lives, not worth the keeping, yet valuable in the losse, as to be accompted by all good men, *Patria pretium*, the ransome of their abused Country) so they had happy successe. There is nothing more remarkable in their victory, then the choosing out, what enemies were fittest to be sacrificed to the iniur'd common-wealth. The killing of seventy men only, regain'd their liberty, two of them being the ring-leaders amongst the tyrants, *Critias*, and one other. That *Critias*, who was the active man in brave *Theramenes* his murder, who (though he had been faulty) did not deserve to be cut off in that way, because he pleaded not his own, but even his Iudges Interests for his preservation, telling them, it might suddenly be their own case, & with calme affections, as if unconcerned in the decision (more like to a wise counsellor, who respected their safety, then one pleading at the barre, for his own life) advising them, not to passe their owne sentence in him, & not to make a president, in which themselves, and their Posterities might be lost. After the death of those two, the knot of tyranny dissolves, and the rest provide for their safety by flying the Country, and because few men had preserved their innocence in such tickle times, a Law is made to forget all former injuries, and Athens is againe happy.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

PAge 4. Line 14. read, not at all. p. 10. l. 19. intruſted, r. inſtructed. p. 10. l. 25. every, r. very, p. 13. l. 26. doth r. doeſt, p. 13 l. 31. refered r. referr'd, p. 17. l. 11. provoked r. produced, p. 17. l. 32. a little r. little, p. 19. l. 34. Vacants r. Vacant.